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POLITICAL ANALYSIS: THE 14TH OAU SUMMIT: MODERATES
PREVAIL

1. BEGIN TEXT. AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE AND THEIR REPR:-
S:NTATIVES IDESTEPPED SERIOUS INTRA-AFRICAN QUARRELS AND

ACHIEVED A BROAD MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ISSUES AT THE 14TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY (LIBREVILLE, JULY 2-5). ONCE AGAIN, THE
MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINE ISSUES RECEIVED RELATIVELY LOW-

KEY TREATMENT. THE SUMMIT, WHICH HOST PRESIDENT BONGO SAID WAS DESIGNED TO "SALVAGE" UNITY, PRESERVED A SEMBLANCE OF THAT GOAL--BUT DID NOT HEAL THE DEEP RIFTS DIVIDING THE CONTINENT.

2. THE LIBREVILLE MEETING ATTRACTED THE UNUSUALLY HIGH NUMBER OF 23 CHIEFS OF STATE, MOST OF THEM REPRESENTING THE "MODERATE" AFRICAN NATIONS. THIS PRO-WESTERN AND LARGELY FRANCOPHONE-LED COALITION OF MODERATES CAME BETTER PREPARED AND BETTER ORGANIZED THAN IN THE PAST; IT CLEARLY HAD THE UPPER HAND IN THE PRECEDING MINISTERIAL MEETING (JUNE 23-30) AND HELD THE BALANCE OF POWER AT THE SUMMIT. WHEN THE LINES WERE CLEARLY DRAWN ON ISSUES, THE "RADICAL" OR "PROGRESSIVE" STATES, LED BY ALGERIA AND LIBYA, WERE UNABLE TO MUSTER MORE THAN 17 TO 19 VOTES FROM AMONG THE 49 OAU MEMBER STATES.

3. ON INTRA-AFRICAN ISSUES, THERE WERE HIGHLY CHARGED DISCUSSIONS OF INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF MEMBER STATES, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO THE CHAD-LIBYA, ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA, AND ETHIOPIA-SUDAN DISPUTES. THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE ISSUES WAS NOT SERIOUSLY DEBATED; THE PREDOMINANT MOOD IN THE CONFERENCE FAVORED NEGOTIATIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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AND COMPROMISE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE AFRICAN FAMILY. SPECIFIC DISPUTES WERE HANDLED BY REFERRAL TO A SERIES OF AD HOC COMMITTEES, WITH NO ASSURANCE THAT THE COMMITTEES WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE MUCH OF A CONTRIBUTION. (NOTE: THE CONCILIATION AND MEDIATION COMMITTEES ARE COMPRISED AS FOLLOWS. FOR THE LIBYA-CHAD DISPUTE: SENEGAL, ALGERIA, NIGERIA, MOZAMBIQUE, GABON, AND CAMEROON. FOR THE ETHIOPIA-SUDAN DISPUTE: ZAMBIA, SIERRA LEONE, TOGO, ALGERIA, NIGERIA, SENEGAL, ZAIRE, CAMEROON, AND GABON. THE COMMITTEE FOR THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA DISPUTE WAS CREATED IN MAY 1973 AND COMPRISES NIGERIA, LIBERIA, SENEGAL, SUDAN, CAMEROON, TANZANIA, MAURITANIA, AND LESOTHO). MEDIATION OF THE ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA DISPUTE, FOR EXAMPLE, COMMENCED ON AUGUST 5 IN LIBREVILLE AND BROKE DOWN THE FOLLOWING DAY WHEN THE SOMALI DELEGATION WALKED OUT OF THE MEDIATION SESSION, TAKING THE POSITION THAT SOMALIA IS NOT A PARTY TO THE DISPUTE BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND THE WESTERN SOMALI LIBERATION FRONT.

4. A POTENTIALLY BITTER BATTLE OVER THE SAHARA WAS SIMILARLY AVERTED BY THE OAU THROUGH REAFFIRMATION OF LAST YEAR'S CALL FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT, NOW SCHEDULED TO

BE HELD IN LUSAKA IN OCTOBER, THUS PERMITTING THE DELEGATES TO AVOID THE UNDERLYING POLITICAL ISSUES.

5. COLONIZATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

6. ON THE MOST CONTENTIOUS QUESTION, RHODESIA, THE OAU EFFECTIVELY GAVE SOLE RECOGNITION TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, ALTHOUGH IT AVOIDED ACTUALLY SAYING SO OR WITHDRAWING ITS EARLIER RECOGNITION OF BISHOP MUZOREWA'S AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). THE AMBIGUOUSLY WORDED RESOLUTION CALLS "UPON ALL ZIMBABWEANS DEVOTED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THEIR COUNTRY TO DO SO WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT" AND URGES "ALL MEMBERS TO REFRAIN FROM ACTS OF
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SUPPORTING INDIVIDUALS...." THE RESOLUTION, THUS, MAY BE READ AS PREFERENCE FOR THE FRONT, AT THE LEAST--SOLE RECOGNITION AT MOST--AND REPRESENTS A VICTORY FOR THE FRONT AND THE FRONT-LINE STATES (ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, BOTSWANA, AND ANGOLA), WHICH WERE STRONGLY REPRESENTED AT LIBREVILLE BY PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA. WHILE BISHOP MUZOREWA AND NDABANINGI SITHOLE, NATIONALIST LEADERS WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, MAY STILL RECEIVE SOME AFRICAN SUPPORT, HENCEFORTH THE LION'S SHARE WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY GO TO THE FRONT.

7. THE GENERAL TONE OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS WAS RELATIVELY MODERATE, SEEMINGLY REFLECTING A GREATER WILLINGNESS TO CREDIT THE US AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS WITH HONEST INTENTIONS IN THEIR INITIATIVES FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE FIVE-POWER INITIATIVE ON NAMIBIA WAS FORMALLY ENCOURAGED, FOR EXAMPLE, EVEN AS THE POSITIONS OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) WERE SUPPORTED, AND THE DOOR WAS LEFT OPEN FOR US-UK EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT.

8. NON-INTERFERENCE AND INTRA-AFRICAN DISPUTES:

9. IN ADDITION TO UNITY, OAU MEMBER STATES HOLD SACROSANCT THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF AFRICAN STATES AND RESPECT FOR THE BORDERS INHERITED FROM THE COLONIAL ERA. TO THESE ENDS, THE MODERATES TOOK THE OFFENSIVE ON QUESTIONS OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN AFRICA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND IN SEEKING WAYS TO STRENGTHEN OAU PEACEKEEPING MACHINERY.

10. ON NON-INTERVENTION, SUDAN'S PRESIDENT NIMEIRI TOOK THE LEAD IN THE OPENING SESSION OF THE SUMMIT WHEN HE:
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(A)--CALLED FOR TRUE NON-ALIGNMENT, WHICH COULD NOT EXIST WHEN MEMBER STATES SIGNED DEFENSE PACTS WITH OUTSIDE

POWERS;

(B)--CHARGED THAT EXTERNAL FORCES WERE PROFITING FROM AFRICA'S INTERNAL DIVISIONS, WHICH WERE THREATENING TO RETURN THE CONTINENT TO THE PRE-1963 SPLIT (THE OPPOSING MONROVIA AND CASABLANCA GROUPS) AND PERMITTING GREAT POWERS TO PLAY WITH AFRICAN STATES; AND

(C)--SCORED "SOCIALIST IMPERIALISM" AND THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR ROLES IN SUDAN, SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND THE CONTINENT AS A WHOLE. AFRICA, NIMEIRI SAID, DID NOT WANT TO REPLACE ONE IMPERIALISM WITH ANOTHER.

11. A SENEGALESE-ALGERIAN RESOLUTION ON NON-INTERVENTION WAS A CLEAR VICTORY FOR THE MODERATES. SENEGALESE PRESIDENT SENGHOR PROPOSED THAT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION BE SPLIT INTO SEPARATE SEGMENTS, AND THE SENEGALESE ELEMENT OF THE JOINT DRAFT--DEALING ONLY WITH INTERVENTION IN AFRICA BY NON-AFRICAN STATES--WAS THEN ADOPTED WITH AMENDMENTS BY GHANA, ALGERIA, SUDAN, LIBYA, AND GUINEA. ALGERIA INTRODUCED THE SECOND ELEMENT OF THE ORIGINAL JOINT RESOLUTION AS A SEPARATE PROPOSAL DEALING WITH INTRA-AFRICAN INTERVENTION. SINCE ALGERIA WAS ABLE TO GATHER ONLY 18 VOTES, HOWEVER, THE RESOLUTION WAS NOT ADOPTED.

12. ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF THE INCREASING NUMBER OF INTRA-AFRICAN DISPUTES, NIGERIAN CHIEF OF STATE OBASANJO OBSERVED THAT DESPERATE SITUATIONS CALLED FOR DESPERATE SOLUTIONS. HE MADE AN APPEAL FOR EXPANSION OF THE POWERS OF THE OAU COMMISSION ON MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION AND CREATION OF A STANDING COMMITTEE OF FIVE TO SEVEN MEMBERS WHO COULD MEET ON THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE
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NOTICE TO DEFUSE AND NEUTRALIZE SITUATIONS WHICH COULD PROVOKE ARMED CONFLICT. UNDER THE TERMS OF OBASANJO'S PROPOSAL, BOTH THE OAU CHAIRMAN AND THE OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL WOULD HAVE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE PROPOSED STANDING COMMITTEE.

13. THE SUMMIT SUBSEQUENTLY ADOPTED THE NIGERIAN PROPOSAL. WHILE LEAVING THE EXISTING (AND NEVER USED) ARBITRATION, CONCILIATION AND MEDIATION COMMISSION NOMINALLY INTACT, IT CREATED A NEW COMMITTEE COMPRISING TUNISIA, ZAIRE, NIGERIA, ZAMBIA, TOGO, GABON, AND MALAGASY REPUBLIC AS PERMANENT MEMBERS, PLUS THREE ADDITIONAL STATES TO BE NAMED BY THE OAU CHAIRMAN ON AN AD HOC BASIS AS APPROPRIATE TO THE PARTICULAR DISPUTE UNDER CONSIDERATION. THIS DECISION INCREASES THE POWERS OF BOTH THE CHAIRMAN AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND EVIDENTLY WILL ALLOW THE OAU TO PLAY A MEDIATING ROLE--OR TO ATTEMPT TO DO SO--WITHOUT THE PRIOR CONSENT OF THE STATES CONCERNED.

14. MIDDLE EAST ISSUES:

15. APPARENTLY WITH LITTLE DISCUSSION AND NO CONTROVERSY, THE SUMMIT ADOPTED TWO COMPARATIVELY MILD RESOLUTIONS--ONE ON PALESTINE AND THE OTHER ON THE MIDDLE EAST--WHICH BY NOW HAVE BECOME HARDY PERENNIALS AT OAU SUMMIT SESSIONS. AS EXPECTED, THESE TWO RESOLUTIONS DO NOT CALL FOR ISRAEL'S EXCLUSION FROM THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR REFER DIRECTLY TO THE UNGA'S ZIONISM-AS-RACISM RESOLUTION.

16. NEVERTHELESS, THE ISRAELIS DID NOT ESCAPE CONDEMNATION. THE TWO RESOLUTIONS:

(A)--ASSERT THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT STATE;
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(B)--STRONGLY CONDEMN ONCE MORE "THE ALLIANCE" BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE RACIST REGIMES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA;

(C)--REITERATE SUPPORT FOR EGYPT, THE ARAB CONFRONTATION STATES, AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN THEIR "HEROIC STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONISM AND RACISM";

(D)--CALL FOR TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES;

(E)--CALL ON OAU MEMBER STATES TO STEP UP THEIR POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY ISOLATION OF ISRAEL;

(F)--REQUEST THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO RECONSIDER ITS OPPOSITION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS AND TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THESE RECOMMENDATIONS, IN PARTICULAR THOSE CALLING FOR THE EXERCISE OF THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHTS TO RETURN TO THEIR NATIONAL HOMELAND AND TO CREATE AN INDEPENDENT STATE OF PALESTINE; AND

(G)--STRONGLY CONDEMN THE "AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS AND POLICY OF EXPANSION" REITERATED BY THE NEWLY FORMED (I.E., BEGIN) ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

17. THE RELATIVE MILDNESS OF THESE MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTIONS IS NOT SURPRISING. IT REFLECTS THE CONTINUATION OF A TREND ON THE PART OF THE BLACK AFRICANS--JOINED BY MODERATE ARAB STATES SUCH AS EGYPT--TO OPPOSE EXTREME ANTI-ISRAELI MEASURES IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. THIS OPPOSITION HAD ITS ORIGIN AT THE OAU SUMMIT IN KAMPALA IN THE SUMMER OF 1975

AND ARISES FROM AFRICAN RESENTMENT OF THE MILITANT ARABS'
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TACTIC OF BRINGING UP HIGHLY DIVISIVE ISSUES THAT DETRACT FROM AFRICAN PRIORITIES. FOR ITS PART, THE ARAB SIDE (WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS SUCH AS LIBYA) HAS APPARENTLY AGREED TO PLAY DOWN THESE ISSUES BECAUSE OF AN AFRICAN REQUEST TO AVOID DIVERTING INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION FROM SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, A DESIRE TO AVOID ADVERSE AFRICAN AND WESTERN REACTION, AND A GROWING REALIZATION THAT THESE ISSUES, PARTICULARLY ZIONISM-AS-RACISM, ARE DOING MORE HARM THAN GOOD FOR THE ARAB CAUSE.

18. ON OTHER, LESSER ISSUES THE OAU:

(A)--TOOK AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD IN THE ECONOMIC AREA WITH APPROVAL OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE KINSHASA EXTRAORDINARY MINISTERIAL MEETING ON REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION;

(B)--ADOPTED A RESOLUTION ON MAYOTTE EMPOWERING OAU CHAIRMAN BONGO TO CONTACT FRENCH PRESIDENT GISCARD TO DISCUSS THE ISLAND'S STATUS;

(C)--DESIGNATED SIERRA LEONE AND ZAMBIA, PLUS FOUR OTHER STATES TO BE NAMED (TWO FROM NORTHERN AND TWO FROM SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA), TO CONSTITUTE A MINISTERIAL MISSION TO THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES TO ASSURE THAT PETROLEUM IS NOT BEING SHIPPED TO RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA;

(D)--AGREED TO CLOSE THE OAU OFFICE IN MALABO, EQUATORIAL GUINEA, ON THE GROUND THAT IT IS NO LONGER NEEDED TO COORDINATE EXTERNAL AID.

19. AMONG THE SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS, PRESIDENT SENGHOR (DOYEN OF THE CONFERENCE) AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA WERE OUTSTANDING
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CONTRIBUTORS, WITH THE LATTER PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE AS A LOBBYIST FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

20. PRESIDENT BONGO ALSO MADE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION, SUGGESTING THAT HE INTENDS TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE AS OAU CHAIRMAN THAN DID HIS PREDECESSOR, PRIME MINISTER RAMGOOLAM OF MAURITIUS. RAMGOOLAM WAS A VERY INACTIVE CHAIRMAN, PARTLY OWING TO HIS OWN DISINCLINATION TO GET INVOLVED, PARTLY BECAUSE HE WAS NOT ASKED TO DO MUCH, AND PARTLY BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS HE MIGHT HAVE DEALT WITH APPEARED SO INTRACTABLE AS TO INVITE NON-INVOLVEMENT. BONGO, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS QUITE ASSERTIVE DURING THIS SUMMIT. HE CAJOLED KING HASSAN OF MOROCCO INTO ATTENDING, THWARTED BENIN'S EFFORTS AT SABOTAGE, AND PREVENTED A

POLISARIO DELEGATION'S EFFORTS TO ATTEND, THE LAST MAKING

IT POSSIBLE TO DEFER THE SAHARAN DISPUTE.

21. A SMALL DIGRESSION:

22. NO ACCOUNT OF THE 14TH OAU SUMMIT MEETING WOULD BE COMPLETE WITHOUT SOME REFERENCE TO UGANDA'S IDI AMIN. HE APPEARED UNEXPECTEDLY, AT THE LAST MOMENT, IN THE HALL FOR THE OPENING CEREMONIES, IN FULL UNIFORM WITH A CHEST COVERED WITH MEDALS. THERE WAS A DEFINITE "AMIN PHENOMENON," PARTICULARLY APPEALING TO THE LOCAL POPULACE, AND THE MARSHAL PLAYED TO THE GALLERY QUITE SUCCESSFULLY. THE FACT REMAINS THAT AMIN GOT FAR MORE ATTENTION FROM JOURNALISTS, AND THE WESTERN PRESS ABOVE ALL, THAN HE EARNED BY ANY SUBSTANTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONFERENCE. HE TWEAKED THE NOSE OF THE WESTERN WORLD AND GOT AWAY WITH IT--PLAYING TO THE GALLERY--BUT THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUMMIT WAS MORE THAN A DIVERSION. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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